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C A B I N E T .

RECENT PERSECUTION IN GERMANY OF JEWS
AND OTHER PERSONS.

Despatch from His Majesty's Ambassador in Berlin
to the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

(Circulated by the Secretary of State for Foreign
Affairs with reference to Cabinet 27(33),
Conclusion 2).

2, Whitehall Gardens, S.W.1.

April 13th, 1933.

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GERMANY.

April 4, 1933.

CONFIDENTIAL.

SECTION 1.

[C 3074/319/18]

No. 1.

Sir H. Rumbold to Sir John Simon.—(Received April 4.)

(No. 295.)

Sir,

Berlin, March 28, 1933.

I HAVE the honour to report that the new Government have now decided to embark on a campaign of propaganda in order to counteract the hostility of the foreign press to the new régime. Early in February the Government proceeded to take very harsh measures against those newspapers which published extracts from the foreign press unfavourable to themselves. They even dismissed the editor of Wolff's Bureau and issued stringent warnings to other news purveyors. Newspapers naturally refrained from reporting unpalatable foreign news, and the Government seemed to think that they could follow this ostrich policy indefinitely. They have now been hoist with their own petard, the outcry in the foreign press having swollen to such dimensions that it is no longer possible to maintain secrecy about it in this country. The sensational press in America appears to have availed itself of the opportunity (provided so unwisely by the German Government themselves) of increasing its circulation at the expense of Germany's good name. Captain Göring, in particular, provided this opportunity on a number of occasions by means of inflammatory addresses, and the task of making reparation seems now to have devolved on him in the first instance.

2. The Government practically ignored the anti-Nazi campaign in the foreign press until the 23rd March, when Captain Göring, speaking in the Reichstag, vigorously denied the allegations made abroad concerning the ill-treatment of German political prisoners. On the 25th March he summoned the representatives of the foreign press and lectured them with that brusqueness and vehemence to which they are now becoming accustomed. He admitted that individuals had been killed and maltreated, but insisted that the excesses were insignificant in view of the revolutionary experience through which the country had just passed. In bullying tones he threatened the correspondents with dire penalties if they, or rather their newspapers, did not mend their ways. He went on to say that many thousands of persons had been arrested, but insisted that they were being well treated. He claimed that members of patriotic associations had actually been dismissed for beating Jews. Selected newspaper correspondents were then taken to see the Communist leaders, Thälmann and Torgler, as well as the editors of the Communist *Rote Fahne* and *Welt Bühne*. These men admitted that they were being given normal prison treatment and had not been subjected to bodily punishment.

3. On the same day Baron Neurath and Herr von Papen telephoned expostulations to America, while Jewish organisations in Germany got into touch with similar organisations abroad. The Nazi propaganda machine was then set to work, and Jewish newspapers were invited to take up the cudgels on behalf of the new Government lest worse should befall them. The statement by the Central Jewish Association (which comprises most of the important Jewish bodies in Germany) to the effect that excesses had now ceased was then issued. A systematic "anti-cruelty" campaign is now being conducted.

4. As stated in my telegram No. 68 of the 26th March, the Government's recent statements are reasonably accurate, and acts of revenge and other excesses are becoming rare. In my despatch No. 268 of the 21st March I stated that the number of persons murdered or seriously injured in political affrays ran into hundreds. No official statement has yet appeared, but my estimate appears to be confirmed by Captain Göring's public statement that the counter-revolution had cost "no more in casualties, both killed and injured, than the political skirmishes of last year." As those skirmishes cost not less than 350 lives, the casualty list must be considerable, though it is to be doubted if the Nazis themselves have any

reliable statistics. The total number of individuals maltreated or imprisoned is given by a very good authority at 15,000. This figure is evidently an underestimate.

5. The Jewish community in this country are faced with a much more serious danger than mere bodily maltreatment or petty persecution. Throughout the public services they are being systematically removed from their posts, nominally on the ground that they have Marxist sympathies. Doctors, lawyers, judges, professors and persons whose appointment rests in any way in official hands are being ruthlessly dismissed for no other reason than the accident of race. In a number of Federal States, including Bavaria, the Commissioners of Justice have decided that judges of Jewish origin are to be excluded from the courts and that Jewish advocates are not to be allowed to prosecute. A strong movement to enforce similar rules in Prussia is now on foot. The hardship inflicted on members of the learned professions who are suddenly deprived of their livelihood in this irresponsible way need not be emphasised. The counter-agitation by the Nazi propaganda machine in the foreign press may lead to a revulsion of opinion abroad and to the belief that all the recent stories of cruelty are unfounded. As in the case of the "war atrocities" in Flanders, falsehood and truth have already become so intermixed that it is impossible to disentangle them, but it would be wrong to imagine that Jews have not suffered, and are not still suffering, gross injustice in this country. The Chancellor and Captain Göring must be held responsible for the campaign against the Jews. The other Ministers, including Dr. Goebbels, the Minister of Propaganda, have hitherto kept aloof from it. Indeed, Dr. Goebbels's appearance, which is suspiciously non-Nordic, and his unusual intelligence and imagination seem to point to a Semitic admixture somewhere.

6. Before the Hitlerite Government took office in February the Jewish problem in Germany was admittedly becoming a serious one. Ever since the revolution Jews have been given fair play in every walk of life in this country, with the result that their racial superiority was asserting itself, at any rate in German eyes, to an almost alarming extent. It is obvious to any observer that the average German, while superior to the Jew in many respects, and while endowed with remarkable qualities of tenacity, industry and sobriety, is distinctly inferior in an artistic sense and even in a purely intellectual sense to the German Jew. Wherever imagination, financial acumen or even business flair comes into play, the Jew tends to outdistance his German rival, and in every domain of intellectual effort the achievements of the Jews are entirely out of proportion to their numbers. In a country where they hardly amount to 2 per cent. of the population, they have practically monopolised some professions and have obtained the plums of a great many others. The teaching professions, medicine, the law, the press, imaginative literature, architecture, and the like, might, in time, become completely monopolised by the Jewish element if we are to judge by the strides made by them during the last fifteen years. It is only natural that the academic youth of this country should bitterly resent the success of the Jews, especially at a moment when the learned professions in Germany are hopelessly overcrowded. The dismissal of doctors, lawyers and teachers, which is now taking place on a wholesale scale, will reopen these professions to the National Socialist candidates, and the anti-Semitic Nazi party comprises in its ranks most of the academic youth of this country for that very reason.

7. It must be borne in mind that the Jewish element in Germany has always been closely associated in the Nationalist mind with the cardinal sins of democracy and pacifism. Many of the leaders of the Left parties were Jews, and they were undoubtedly responsible to a large extent for the "abominable policy"—to use Hitler's expression—of fulfilment. The association of the Jews with bolshevism in Russia renders them doubly obnoxious to the Nazi leaders; not only are they guilty in their eyes of having destroyed civilisation and Christianity in Russia, but they are accused of "infusing into the German and European system the poison of communism." Again the Jewish press in Germany, which ranked and still ranks far above the native press, has, in its outlook, always been international rather than nationalist. The Jewish contribution to recent German literature, especially the drama, was often anti-German in outlook, or, at any rate, non-German. Generally speaking the intellectual ascendancy of the Jews in the domain of literature, the drama, the cinematograph and the wireless aroused the

most active jealousy in the Nationalist and Nazi camps, and the present campaign is directed not merely against politicians, but against authors and artists as well.

8. The supremacy of the Jews in the domain of finance became overwhelming when the currency collapsed in 1923 and was replaced in turn by the Renten Mark and the Gold Mark. It is at such moments of disturbance that the elasticity and adaptability of the Jewish character become most manifest. Jewish financiers were quick to seize the opportunity to lay firm hands on the financial machinery of the country. The ostentatious mode of life of Jewish bankers and financiers—a tradition from the days when the ex-Emperor ennobled Jews who built ocean-going yachts or set up large racing stables—inevitably aroused envy when unemployment became general. The best elements in the Jewish community will now have to suffer and are suffering for the sins of the worst, and more especially for the sins of the Russian and the Galician Jews who came into this country during the revolution of 1918. Immigrants like Sklarek and Barmat, with a natural bent for crooked finance, became the centre of great financial and political scandals, which seriously discredited the Left parties and still serve as classic examples of the kind of Jew abhorrent to the "Nordic" or Nazi mind. It will need all the intelligence and resource of the hard-working Jewish *intelligentsia* to cope with the present onslaught. The young Nazi generation has no knowledge of the services rendered by German Jews and by Jews in foreign countries throughout the struggle against the more oppressive clauses of the Treaty of Versailles. The same skilful and incessant propaganda which contributed so much to the improvement in Germany's international position during the last decade is now being turned against the Nazi movement, and it is evident from the angry outbursts of the Nazi leaders that German interests are feeling the effects of this propaganda in every part of the world. As a counter-measure the Government are now threatening to outlaw the Jewish community in Germany, and it is clear that Jewish organisations abroad would be well advised to desist, at any rate, from public forms of agitation. They are dealing with unintelligent and ruthless opponents in the present German Government, and they may do more harm than good by goading them too far at the present juncture.

I have, &c.

HORACE RUMBOLD.
